42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OAf Philippines
Apayao OA6
Isneg

in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and viands. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisdd* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food, for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kaddw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kaddw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

42 Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

577 possession, he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
421 that can be found in the forest is the property of the first man who
685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
426 The heirs of a deceased person inherit his debts as well as his property, and the creditor will appear some day to ask payment from their
686 hands. In case of a raid upon the house of a culprit,—for instance, when a girl has been made pregnant, or when a married woman has returned to her parents whether against the will of her husband or because the latter rightfully divorced her for adultery, etc., and her parents refuse to give back to the offended husband what he gave them at the time of his marriage, or when somebody has been killed among people who are on friendly terms with one another,—then of course, if you are a relative of the offended party, you are free to rob the house of all its valuables: this is not stealing, it is simple justice.

577 "You should not be so strict, however, with reference to the Ibanag:
609 almost anything is allowed when you deal with them. Plain stealing
421 of course should be avoided, but for the rest it would be hard to qualify anything by the name of injustice, when the Ibanag are in ques-
426 tion. Here, nevertheless, you should make a distinction: you may have good friends among them or they may be your guests, and then
• 437 of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
686 But, deceit in transactions, escaping the payment of a debt, and so
685 on, which would be downright dishonesty if done among ourselves, are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as those of your own people".

685 Two years ago a Tubungan (near Abbil) man had been robbed of
628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the ac-
177 cused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would